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TURKEY: REBORN REPUBLIC

by

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TURKEY: REBORN REPUBLIC

TURKEY, having passed swiftly through an almost bloodless army-led revolution, gives promise of becoming in good time a stronger and sturdier member of the two free world alliances which it links—the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Central Treaty Organization. For the moment, a military dictatorship has succeeded a one-party civilian dictatorship. But the provisional regime, in control now for less than six weeks, already has announced detailed plans for drafting a new constitution and surrendering power to a new government based on popular suffrage.

Confidence that the intention to restore civilian authority would be carried out was implied in a congratulatory message transmitted to the new Turkish head of state in mid-June by President Eisenhower. The President welcomed Gen. Cemal Gursel's "expressed determination to hold elections and to turn over the government administration to the newly elected authority." He expressed satisfaction likewise with the new regime's recognition of Turkey's obligations under the NATO and CENTO alliances.

Selim Sarper, veteran Turkish diplomat and newly appointed foreign minister, had said at a news conference on June 1, five days after the *coup d'état*, that the provisional regime was "categorically committed" to abide by all international agreements undertaken by the previous government, including a bilateral defense agreement with the United States. Threats to bomb any bases used in the future by American reconnaissance planes entering the airspace of Turkey's powerful neighbor on the north did not disturb the new foreign minister. "Russian threats," observed Sarper, "usually only irritate the Turks."

The revolt that took place on May 27 was the answer of the Turkish army to the apparent determination of Premier Adnan Menderes "to ride roughshod over the

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mounting and increasingly demonstrative opposition."¹ Political unrest had been simmering in Turkey since 1954, when Menderes' Democratic Party put laws severely restricting civil liberties through the Grand National Assembly; it reached fever heat in mid-April 1960, when the Democratic majority set up a parliamentary commission of inquiry to investigate political activities of the opposition People's Republican Party.² Ahmet Emin Yalman, editor of the daily *Vatan*, wrote on May 30 that Menderes had "interpreted the confidence of the people as an absolute mandate to rule the country in an arbitrary way, to restrain criticism, to disregard laws."

Student demonstrations against the parliamentary commission, which was investigating the "destructive, illegitimate and illegal activities" of the Republicans, began on April 28 in Istanbul and soon spread to Izmir and Ankara. The students, inspired by student uprisings in South Korea which had led to the downfall of President Syngman Rhee, called for the resignation of Menderes. The premier's reaction, however, was to impose martial law in Ankara and Istanbul. Despite tear gas, police brutality, and mass arrests, the demonstrations continued. As NATO foreign ministers gathered in Istanbul on May 2 for a meeting of the North Atlantic Council, Turkish troops pushed back 2,000 demonstrators shouting anti-Menderes slogans.

Menderes ignored all demands for restoration of civil liberties and resorted to increasingly repressive measures. As late as May 15, in Izmir, he called the students who demanded his resignation "only children without the right to vote." The turning point came on May 21, when hundreds of cadets of the Turkish Army War College, joined by numerous staff officers of the college, staged a protest march in Ankara. Menderes had been depending on the army to put down student demonstrations, but the commander of a tank unit ordered to advance on the cadets refused to comply. A week later, the Turkish army under the leadership of Gen. Gursel seized control of the government.³

¹ "Turkey's Fresh Start," *London Economist*, June 4, 1960, p. 959.

² The provisional regime of Gen. Gursel disclosed that the report of the commission recommended strong punitive action against 116 Republican deputies, 14 university professors, and 15 generals, and urged the expulsion from Turkey of Gen. Ismet Inonu, former President, for "illegal" opposition to the Menderes regime.

³ Gursel, commissioned in 1915, fought against the British in World War I, served under both Inonu and Ataturk during the Turkish War of Independence, and was commander-in-chief of the Turkish land forces until May 5, 1960, when he resigned from the army in protest against the course of Menderes.

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Gursel, head of the Committee of National Unity that directed the army coup of May 27, became head of state and government, defense minister, and commander-in-chief in the provisional government.⁴ Addressing the Turkish nation on the day of the take-over, Gursel said:

I have resolved to put an end to this tragic course [of Menderes] and I have taken over the administration of the state. I hasten to tell all fellow countrymen that I am not by any means desirous of becoming a dictator. My sole desire is to establish a clean and honest democratic order in the country as fast as possible, and to turn the administration of the state over to the will of the nation.

The Committee of National Unity, which set itself up as the supreme authority in Turkey, issued a communiqué on the same day saying that "Our armed forces have . . . taken over the administration of the country . . . for the purpose of extricating the parties from the irreconcilable situation into which they have fallen and for the purpose of having just and free elections." Although the Committee of National Unity resorted to non-democratic methods, the announced purpose of its intervention in politics was to rescue Turkish democracy from the oppressive ambitions of Menderes. Democracy never has become as firmly established in Turkey as in Western Europe, but the new regime has placed itself on record as disavowing any desire to substitute military dictatorship for parliamentary government.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS OF PROVISIONAL REGIME

Both the Committee of National Unity and the provisional cabinet appointed by Gen. Gursel have taken measures to correct abuses that flourished under Menderes. The Committee of National Unity upon its accession immediately ordered: (1) release from prison of editors, students, officers, and other persons jailed by the former government for political reasons; (2) removal of a ban on publication of certain newspapers; (3) reopening of colleges and universities closed by Menderes; (4) disarming of the police; and (5) appointment of a board of university professors to draft a new constitution.⁵

The constitutional board, headed by Siddik Sami Onar,

⁴ The Committee of National Unity is composed of 38 officers, many of whom gained familiarity with democratic ideals at American training schools or during service with the Turkish brigade in Korea.

⁵ The cabinet took steps looking to annulment of laws and decrees that restricted essential rights and freedoms and to improvement of the country's economic and financial situation and the living standards of the people.

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president of Istanbul University, said on May 28 that "since the state's present constitution has been violated and rendered inoperative," it was essential "to draw up a new constitution calculated to ensure the establishment of a state based on rule of law." The board added that there was need to "formulate a new electoral law calculated to ensure the manifestation of the true will of the people, to prevent oppression by a political majority, and thereby to forestall the degeneration of political power."

Gursel has proposed to substitute for the wartime constitution of Jan. 10, 1945, a more modern instrument based on the American system of checks and balances through separation of powers. It is expected that a bicameral parliament will replace the old one-chamber Grand National Assembly; that the President will be given power to dissolve the parliament and call for new elections; and that a Supreme Court will be created to watch over constitutional liberties. Onar has said that the new constitution will guarantee democratic processes, individual liberties and social rights, separation of church and state, and freedom of the press. He expects the new constitution to be ready for ratification, either by a special assembly convoked for the purpose or by a popular referendum, sometime in August. However, it seems optimistic to expect the job to be completed quite that quickly.⁶

Meanwhile, a provisional constitution, promulgated on June 12, has reposed legislative power in the Committee of National Unity as the representative of the Turkish army; executive power in the cabinet or council of ministers formed by the president of the Committee of National Unity (Gen. Gursel); and judicial power in "independent courts." The constitution provided for establishment of a High Council of Inquiry, which was set up on June 30, to investigate acts of officials of the ousted Menderes government and of members of the Grand National Assembly. Persons charged with crimes by the High Council of Inquiry are to be tried by a specially constituted Supreme Tribunal of Justice. The temporary constitution provides that the Committee of National Unity shall be automatically dissolved on the day the new national legislature comes into being, following general elections to be held under terms of the new permanent constitution. Gur-

⁶ Turkey's ambassador in Washington, Melih Esenbel, said at a news conference on June 30 that it might take two or three months to draft the new constitution.

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sel said on June 18 that he was aiming for elections in the autumn of 1960.

ELECTIONS AND INONU'S EXPECTED RISE TO POWER

Although the military coup in Turkey has been called one of the most democratically inspired seizures of power in the postwar era, the good faith of the Committee of National Unity will be fully tested only when the time comes to turn over its powers to the winners of the promised elections. Gursel said on May 28 that he would "withdraw after handing over the administration to the government of the assembly that is to be elected." Three days later he added:

Personally, I do not propose to be a candidate for election. My duty is only as far as the point where the country will have been led to free elections. A new state machinery will emerge from the honest elections to be held after the constitution, which is now in preparation, is completed and equal rights have been ensured for political parties. . . . With reference to certain army personnel who may desire to be candidates at the forthcoming elections, regulations require that they first resign from the army. After resignation, they would be as free to seek election as any other citizens.

The People's Republican Party is certain to come out on top when the people vote. The Democratic Party, with nearly all of its leaders under arrest, its newspapers out of business, and its organization disrupted, will hardly be able to put up much of a contest.⁷ Sitki Yircali, a former minister of state who opposed Menderes' repressive measures as leader of a group of dissident Democrats in the Grand National Assembly, announced after the revolt that he was "taking over the leadership" of the Democratic Party. Although the Democrats are believed to remain popular with the country's peasant majority, it is likely to be some time before they regain an influential position in Turkish politics.

Gen. Ismet Inonu, 75-year-old leader of the Republicans and now a national hero, said at a news conference on June 1 that he would participate in the elections as leader of his party, but that he had not yet made up his mind "as to whether I shall take an active position or what that position may be." He said he "would be happy to leave politics after the re-establishment of a democratic govern-

⁷ Fifteen hundred former officials, deputies, and associates of Menderes had been put under arrest by June 1. When Gursel was asked whether the arrested Democratic leaders would be released to enter the election campaign, he replied that none would be allowed to participate until tried.

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ment." Inonu cautioned that the members of the Republican Party "must be seriously on guard against sentiments of revenge and the venting of personal grudges." He added that "to establish a rule of fair and honest democracy constitutes the best guarantee of present and future confidence and tranquillity of our country."

ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES FACING NEW GOVERNMENT

Turkey's poor economic and fiscal situation constituted one of the primary causes of the downfall of the Menderes regime, and presents a serious challenge to the new regime. Although the Democrats promised financial and economic reforms in 1958, when they received \$359 million in economic assistance from the United States and other sources,⁸ the Menderes government had a budget deficit of around \$50 million at the end of April 1960. At that time, Turkey negotiated a credit of \$50 million with West Germany. This was expected to cover the deficit in the country's balance of international payments to the end of 1960, when another loan will be needed to avert economic chaos.

The economic difficulties of Turkey have resulted from an ambition to emulate Western European nations and from failure to plan realistically.⁹ A determined effort has been made to develop every sector of the economy, including manufacturing, agriculture, mining, transportation and power. The budget, in consequence, has been steadily unbalanced. Despite a government program of export subsidies, sale of Turkish products in foreign markets has been made increasingly difficult by a disparity between internal and external prices and by uncertainties created by the possibility of a readjustment of official rates of exchange.

Notwithstanding the forced rate of industrialization, Turkey remains an agricultural country; 72 per cent of its 27 million inhabitants gain their livelihood from the soil. Attempts of past governments to expand the acreage under cultivation, to provide and increase the use of fertilizers, to mechanize agriculture, to build up irrigation facilities, and to intensify pest control have barely

⁸ The United States supplied \$234 million; the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, \$100 million; and the International Monetary Fund, \$25 million. During the past few years the bulk of U.S. economic aid, formerly made up of capital goods, has shifted to raw materials, spare parts, operating supplies, and surplus farm commodities.

⁹ A general lack of effective direction and coordination of programs undertaken by the Menderes government led to misallocation and waste of scarce resources which slowed the rate of economic growth.—James A. Morris, "Recent Problems of Economic Development in Turkey," *Middle East Journal*, Winter 1960, p. 1.

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sufficed to keep production ahead of the growth of population.

The new regime will have to take drastic measures to stabilize the economy. The balance of international payments must be restored by stepping up exports and enforcing quotas on imports of luxury items.¹⁰ Inflation must be halted by tightening credit and forcing savings. The system of taxation must be reformed; farm incomes, exempted by Menderes, will have to be taxed. Finally, Turkish industrial output will have to be increased. Economists regard such measures as feasible and necessary, but they will require a severe dose of austerity.

Turkish Evolution in Twentieth Century

THE PRINCIPAL AIMS of Turkey in the present century have been to maintain its independence and territorial integrity and to achieve rapid westernization and a higher standard of living. After an uninterrupted existence of more than six hundred years, the decaying Ottoman Empire—the “sick man of Europe”—was on the verge of collapse at the turn of the century. Then, as now, young students and intellectuals aspired to a new, progressive society. It was their idealism and their demands for political and economic reforms that led the army in 1908 to depose the despotic Sultan Abdul Hamid II in favor of his younger brother—much as the overthrow of Menderes was brought about 52 years later. However, Turkey today is no longer as isolated from a changing world as it was in 1908.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY OF THE YOUNG TURKS

The Young Turk Committee of Union and Progress of the early 1900s was a secret organization, patterned on the Masonic order and dedicated to limiting the autocratic powers of Abdul Hamid. The executive committee of the movement, comprised of a small number of upper class Turks, staged an uprising in the Balkan region of the empire when domestic and foreign developments gave them the opportunity in 1908. With astonishing rapidity, the Young Turks gained control of the greater part of

¹⁰ The provisional government announced, June 18, that imports would be cut by \$25 million in the fourth quarter of 1960—from \$250 million to \$215 million.

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Macedonia and received the backing of Turkish officers, led by Col. Enver Bey of the Sultan's army. Abdul Hamid, confronted by their demands, issued a proclamation on July 24, 1908, restoring the constitution of 1876 and authorizing elections for the second parliament in Turkish history. Thereafter the old autocratic system centering around the Sultan began to break up. Effective power was exercised by Enver Bey and a group of political leaders devoted to the progressive ideas of the Young Turks.

The Young Turks rejected Islam and took the West as their model. They believed that, to attain Western Europe's level of development and gain its recognition and respect, it was necessary to follow its example in all fields. They advocated enlightenment through education, for lack of popular education was considered the basic reason for the empire's decay. The Young Turks' greatest political contribution, paradoxically, was in the field where they accomplished the least—establishment of freedom. They made up a minority within the empire and were able to retain power only by arbitrary and dictatorial means. However, their ideal of a multi-party, liberal democracy was passed on to the succeeding generation. The pioneering of the Young Turks, moreover, provided excellent training for young Turkish officers like Mustapha Kemal (later Ataturk) and Ismet Pasha (later Inonu).¹¹

When men around the Sultan and members of the Committee of Union and Progress took Turkey into the First World War on the losing side, the end of the empire was near. Two weeks after the Sultan surrendered in 1918, an Allied fleet of 60 vessels disembarked troops at Istanbul (Constantinople), ostensibly en route to join White Russian forces fighting the Bolsheviks but actually to execute secret agreements for dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. The "sick man of Europe" thus came under Allied control.

The Straits area was occupied, and on May 15, 1919, Greek troops, escorted by American, British and French warships, landed at Ismir (Smyrna) to occupy a zone of Asia Minor which contained many Greek residents and which was destined by the peace conference at Paris to be awarded to Greece.¹² It was at this point that Mustafa

¹¹ Kemal H. Karpat, *Turkey's Politics* (1969), p. 21.

¹² The unratified Treaty of Sevres provided for Greek administration of Smyrna and its hinterland for five years; a plebiscite then was to determine future disposition of the territory.

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Kemal, an outstanding military commander and a member of the Committee of Union and Progress, started a movement to preserve Turkey's territorial integrity and national independence.

WESTERNIZATION OF TURKEY BY KEMAL ATATURK

A conference of nationalists and C.U.P. members, convoked by Ataturk at Erzerum on July 23, 1919, declared the Turkish nation indivisible and called for immediate creation of a National Assembly. Meanwhile, a force of nationalist volunteers was organized to fight the Greeks. The struggle continued for three years and resulted ultimately in victory for the Turks and withdrawal of all foreign troops from within the borders of Turkey as defined in 1923 by the Treaty of Lausanne.

The Grand National Assembly met on April 23, 1920, at Ankara, which was to become the new seat of government, and chose Ataturk as president of a provisional government. Ataturk told the Assembly that the purpose of the government was to "secure the independence of the country and the deliverance of the seat of the Caliphate and Sultanate from the hands of our enemies." However, the Sultan and his government in Istanbul were chiefly interested in the monarchy's survival and cooperated freely with the British and the French. Consequently, Ataturk engineered passage of a constitutional act on Jan. 20, 1921, declaring that thenceforth all powers would be concentrated in the Grand National Assembly, which was to administer the Turkish state. Ataturk on Nov. 1, 1922, deposed the last Sultan, Mohammed VI, who had succeeded his brother Mohammed V, in 1918. Turkey was formally proclaimed a republic on Oct. 29, 1923, by the Grand National Assembly, which on the same day named Ataturk president of the nation.

When the problems of Turkey's frontiers and constitution had been settled, Kemal initiated a great campaign to modernize and westernize the country. One of his first acts, on March 3, 1924, was to abolish the Caliphate and expel the Caliph, the spiritual leader of the Moslem world.¹⁸ This was a bold step in a country where more than 90 per cent of the people were Moslem. Five years later, in full recognition of the principle of separation of church and

¹⁸ The Sultan was also Caliph until 1922, when a cousin of Mohammed VI became Caliph in place of the deposed Sultan.

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state, Islam was deprived of its status as the state religion of Turkey.

Other reforms followed in quick succession. Polygamy was abolished; religious orders and schools were banned; wearing of the fez was prohibited; and civil marriage was made compulsory. The law of the Koran was replaced by a modern civil code based on the Swiss model, and Kemal adapted Italy's penal code to Turkey's needs. By a government decree of Nov. 3, 1928, Arabic script was replaced in Turkey by the Latin alphabet. Women were granted full suffrage and made eligible for government office. By a five-year plan instituted in 1933, Ataturk sought to make Turkey independent of imports of foreign manufactures.

Turkey under Ataturk was in effect a dictatorship, administered by a single party, the People's Republican Party. However, it was a dictatorship without the usual apparatus of surveillance and repression. Before his death in 1938, Ataturk had considered allowing formation of opposition parties when in his opinion the nation was mature enough for party politics. To this day the P.R.P. considers itself the defender of the principles of Kemal Ataturk, which have been summarized as follows:

1. *Republicanism*: Unconditional sovereignty of the nation, political freedom, and free elections.
2. *Nationalism*: The Turkish nation is an individual unit, and its people are linked together by a common language, culture, history, and destiny.
3. *Populism*: The ultimate goal of the state is to serve the people. All citizens are equal before the law, and all citizens are to be helped to attain a higher standard of living, security, social equality, and good health with confidence in the present and the future.
4. *Statism*: Only the state shall conduct, manage and control the armaments industry, energy resources, public works, exploitation of oil, coal mines, and strategic metals, public services (post and communications). All other economic activities not mentioned may be undertaken by private enterprise.
5. *Laicism*: Separation of church and state.
6. *Revolutionism*: All reactionary conditions must be abolished and the pattern of living is to be based on modern civilization.¹⁴

These principles, symbolized by six arrows, formed the basis of Ataturk's program to tear down the old regime and westernize Turkey—a program which was to be carried

¹⁴ Baruch Gilead, "Political Parties in Turkey," *Middle Eastern Affairs*, March 1958, p. 101.

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on after his death by his successor as President, Ismet Inonu.¹⁵

INONU'S RULE; POLICY CHANGES UNDER MENDERES

Inonu, who had served as premier since 1923, except in one year, was elected President in 1938 by unanimous vote of the Grand National Assembly, and he continued the benevolent dictatorship of Ataturk. No serious political opposition was tolerated, freedom of the press was severely restricted, and the Grand National Assembly did whatever it was asked. Bringing Turkey unscathed through World War II was the principal achievement of Inonu's twelve years in office.

Possibly impelled by a desire to impress the West, Inonu permitted free elections in 1950. Surprisingly, a newly formed opposition, the Democratic Party, overwhelmingly defeated his regime. What impressed the nation was that Inonu gracefully surrendered power. It was the first time such a democratic transfer of governmental control had taken place in Turkey, and it led the world to think that democratic processes had become well established there.

Celal Bayar, who became President in 1950, Menderes, who became premier, and Fuat Koprulu, who became foreign minister, all had been active members of the People's Republican Party before they founded the Democratic Party on Jan. 7, 1946. They split with Inonu over his dictatorial practices and, when they came to office in 1950, adopted more liberal policies. Freedom of the press and of religion was respected. Private enterprise, as opposed to the statism of Ataturk and Inonu, was encouraged. The new government also abandoned Inonu's cautious foreign policy and in 1952 steered Turkey into the NATO alliance.¹⁶

The Democratic Party's economic policies, its civic reforms, and a vast public works program had strong popular support. But Menderes, basking in the manifestations of public confidence, grew sensitive to any criticism. A press law of May 7, 1954, prescribed severe penalties for libel, especially libeling of government officials, and for publication of "information or documents of such a nature as adversely

¹⁵ Ismet, a former general, acquired the name Inonu after winning a decisive victory over the Greeks near a town of that name on March 31, 1921.

¹⁶ Inonu has frequently opposed Turkey's close identification with American interests. He assailed use of the Adana air base as a staging area for U.S. troops en route to Lebanon in the summer of 1958.

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to affect the state's political or financial prestige or cause a disturbance of the public order." Truth was no defense for a journalist arrested under this law.

The government slowly gained control of the press by closing down opposition newspapers, jailing editors, and exercising arbitrary control over newsprint supplies.¹⁷ More than 3,000 newspapermen were put on trial and more than 1,000 were convicted.¹⁸ The official defense of the press law was that criticism jeopardized the development effort and that the irresponsibility of the opposition and the general immaturity of the press made restrictions necessary.

Repressive tactics were carried further in 1956, when the Grand National Assembly, to protect itself from public criticism, adopted a law which forbade unauthorized gatherings of more than five persons in any public place. Demonstrations could not be held without permission of the proper authorities and policemen were authorized to fire into crowds. After the elections of 1957, in which the Democrats gained 424 of the 610 seats but received only a minority of the popular vote, Bayar, Menderes and members of the Grand National Assembly grew fearful of losing power in another election. And the measures they took in seeking to forestall that eventuality only further alienated public sentiment.

Turkey's Alliance With Western Powers

TURKEY's strategic geographic position and the hostility of the Soviet Union forced the Turks after World War II to abandon the policy of neutrality advocated by Ataturk. Turkey today stands guard against Communist aggression on the right flank of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the left flank of the Central Treaty Organization. It considers itself an integral part of the West, not for

¹⁷ The government had the right to demand that papers publish front-page denials of all news stories it considered detrimental to its policies. One daily, the *Yeni Gun*, once wrote: "Page one being completely filled with denials we are forced to print, our readers will find the news on page six."

¹⁸ Ahmed E. Yalman, 73-year-old editor of *Vatan* and dean of the Turkish press, was sentenced last year to 15½ months in prison for reprinting articles written by Eugene C. Pulliam, publisher of the *Indianapolis Star*, which were held to belittle the Turkish government. Yalman, who did not actually enter prison until last March, was released after five weeks because of poor health.

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reasons of temporary expediency, but in the nation's fundamental interests.

The revolt of the army in May, therefore, posed no threat to the position of Turkey as a military ally of the West, and no future change of government is expected to alter the country's role in either NATO or CENTO. The first communiqué broadcast by Turkish armed forces on May 27 declared: "We are loyal to all our alliances and undertakings. We believe in NATO and CENTO and are faithful to them."

AMERICAN ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID TO TURKEY

The United States, which has had diplomatic relations with Turkey since 1830, was quick to recognize the new military regime. A statement on May 30 said: "Merely carrying on our usual relations with Turkish government officials constitutes recognition. No other formal act of recognition is considered necessary. We expect that our close and friendly relations with Turkey will continue as in the past."

Close ties between the two countries date back to 1947 when Great Britain, which had helped Turkey to maintain economic stability before and during World War II, found itself unable to continue financial assistance. With the Middle East threatened by Communist infiltration, President Truman asked Congress in a historic message on March 12, 1947, to authorize economic and financial aid to Greece and Turkey to help those free peoples "to maintain their institutions and national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes." Truman went on to say that maintenance of Turkey's national integrity was "essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East." A grant to Turkey of \$100 million initiated an extensive program of assistance.¹⁹

American economic aid to Turkey since 1947 has amounted to approximately \$1 billion.²⁰ However, Elgin Groseclose of the National Economic Council, testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 31, said that "After 12 years of foreign aid, Turkey is no nearer to a self-sufficient economy than ever." Groseclose pointed out that Turkey, which in 1946 had an export sur-

¹⁹ Congress also authorized establishment of civilian and military U.S. missions in Turkey "to assist in the tasks of reconstruction and for the purpose of supervising the use of financial and military assistance."

²⁰ Turkey received last year \$59 million in "defense support" (economic aid to enable the country to support its large military forces), \$33 million in surplus food and fibers, and \$4.3 million in technical assistance.

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plus of \$74 million had a trade deficit of \$88 million in 1959.²¹ Norman Armour, former U.S. ambassador to Turkey, wrote in his survey of the aid program in 1957: "Basically, Turkey is suffering today from too much economic development, too fast with too little. . . . The United States must share some of the blame for Turkey's over-ambitious economic development."

The United States has put \$2 billion into military aid to Turkey. Under the military aid program, which is designed to enable Turkey to maintain armed services capable of deterring and resisting aggression, the Turkish forces have been equipped with modern weapons and their facilities improved. The expenditure has been considered a sound military investment. Turkey, which devotes one-half of its national budget to defense, could not maintain a modern army without considerable outside assistance. The Turkish army today has 22 divisions comprising more than 400,000 men—the largest land force at the disposal of NATO.²² The Turkish air force has 40,000 men and 1,000 planes (one-half of which are jets), and the navy has 30,000 men. It has been asserted that in time of war Turkey could mobilize about three million men.

The Turks, proud of their military tradition, were jubilant when Turkey was admitted to NATO in February 1952. They had actively sought membership since the alliance was formed in 1949.²³ As a member of the North Atlantic alliance, Turkey is protected by large U.S. Air Force units near Adana and by the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean. It was announced at a NATO meeting in Washington on Oct. 10, 1959, that an intermediate range ballistic missile base would be located in Turkey.²⁴ I.R.B.M.s, which have a range of 1,500 miles, could reach targets in European Russia and in most of central Asia from Turkey. At the same time, plans for the missile base, construction of a huge radar detection system to track testing of Soviet missiles, and flights of American U-2 spy planes from bases in

²¹ In the first quarter of 1960, the United States bought 20 per cent of Turkey's exports and supplied 27 per cent of its imports.

²² The First Turkish Army protects Istanbul, the Straits, and the Bulgarian border; the Second Army is held as a reserve in the center of Turkey; the Third Army protects the 367-mile eastern border with Russia.

²³ Turkey's admission was undoubtedly speeded by the heroic exploits of the Turkish brigade in Korea, which was the first overseas contingent to join U.S. troops in the struggle to halt Communist aggression in 1950.

²⁴ Great Britain and Italy are the only other NATO countries which have agreed to location of such bases on their territory. Turkey is to provide the base site and the United States the supporting equipment. This country will also provide and control a stockpile of nuclear warheads for I.R.B.M.s in Turkey.

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Turkey have stirred up strong Soviet hostility to that country.

RESISTANCE OF THE TURKS TO RUSSIAN PRESSURE

Russia, for centuries intent on gaining access to the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles, was at war with Turkey 13 times between 1663 and 1918. But at the end of World War I the two countries, both with new revolutionary regimes and both fearful of Western intervention, suddenly found each other with common interests. A treaty concluded between them in 1921 recognized a similarity in the aspirations of Turkey and the Soviet Union and recorded the agreement of each "not to recognize any peace treaties or any other international acts the acceptance of which might be imposed by force" on the other. Four years later, in 1925, a new Soviet-Turkish treaty of friendship and non-aggression was signed at Ankara.²⁵ However, the era of cordiality was short-lived. Difficulties over fulfillment of trade agreements and severe Turkish treatment of domestic Communists led to a steady deterioration of relations. Atatürk warned as early as 1935 that:

European questions have ceased to be disputes between France, England and Germany. Today in Eastern Europe there is a power which is menacing the whole civilization and even the whole of humanity. This power, which can mobilize all its moral and material forces totally for the purpose of world revolution, pursues methods yet unknown to Europeans and Americans. . . . Bolsheviks know how to exploit the mentality of awakening eastern nations and are today menacing not only Europe but also Asia.

Turkey nevertheless insisted, when entering into a treaty of alliance with England and France in 1939, that nothing in the treaty should obligate it to take up arms against the Soviet Union. During World War II the Turks, never strongly anti-German and apprehensive of their postwar position vis-a-vis Russia, succeeded in remaining neutral almost to the end.²⁶ If Turkey had gone to war when it was ill equipped and isolated from the Allies, it no doubt would have been occupied by Nazi armies and eventually "liberated" by the Russians as were the Eastern European countries now behind the Iron Curtain.

The Soviet Union, vexed by Turkey's maintenance of neutrality, denounced the 1925 non-aggression treaty in March

²⁵ See "Soviet Russia and the Middle East," *ERR*, 1946 Vol. I, pp. 124-128.

²⁶ Turkey declared war on Germany on Feb. 23, 1945, after warning from the Allies that it would not be invited to the United Nations conference at San Francisco unless it did so.

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1945. When the war in Europe ended, Moscow opened a propaganda campaign for return of two northeastern Turkish provinces, Kars and Ardahan, that had been in Russian possession from 1878 to 1918, and for the right to establish Soviet bases on the Dardanelles.²⁷ The Turks left no doubt of their reaction. The Anatolian News Agency said the country was "prepared to plunge into war flames rather than yield an inch of territory." Ankara declared that "Acceptance by Turkey of Soviet defense of the Straits would mean no less than sharing her sovereignty with a foreign power."

Downing on Soviet territory, May 1, 1960, of the American U-2 reconnaissance plane, which had been based at Incirlik, east of Adana, brought threats of nuclear retaliation from Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev. However, the government of former Premier Menderes disclaimed any responsibility for that intrusion on Soviet airspace. Fatin Rustu Zorlu, then foreign minister, said on May 8 that Turkey did not give "permission to any American plane to fly over Soviet territory for observation or any other reason."

Selim Sarper, foreign minister in the new provisional government, declared on June 1 that Turkey would not be affected by Soviet threats. Khrushchev, at a news conference two days later, sounded a more conciliatory note: "Gen. Gursel declared that he will be guided by the policy of Ataturk, with whom still in Lenin's lifetime our country established good relations. We should like to see friendship between us and Turkey."

FORMATION OF THE CENTRAL TREATY ORGANIZATION

To strengthen its defenses against possible Communist aggression, Turkey took a leading part in forming the alliance known first as the Baghdad Pact and now as the Central Treaty Organization²⁸. The concept of joining Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan in a "northern tier" defense alliance was formulated by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. When Dulles visited Ankara in May 1951, he said:

Many of the Arab countries are so engrossed with their quarrels that they pay little heed to the menace of Soviet communism. . . . There is a vague desire to have a collective security system, but

²⁷ See "Mediterranean Pact and Near East Security," *E.R.R.*, 1949 Vol. I, pp. 225-227.

²⁸ The Baghdad Pact became CENTO on Aug. 21, 1959, five months after Iraq's withdrawal from the alliance.

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no such system can be imposed from without. It should be designed to grow from within, out of a sense of common destiny and common danger.

The future alliance began to take shape on July 26, 1951, when Turkey and Pakistan entered into a treaty of friendship, which was followed on April 2, 1954, by a mutual security treaty. The Baghdad Pact proper was signed by Turkey and Iraq on Feb. 24, 1955, and adhered to later that year by Iran, Pakistan and Great Britain. The pact obligated its members to "cooperate for their security and defense," but its terms included no military commitments comparable to the mutual security guarantees of NATO. As much stress was placed on economic cooperation as on military planning. The United States, though not willing to adhere to the pact, became a member of several of the treaty organization's committees and so, to all intents and purposes, a working partner in the alliance.

Turkey had sought the support in 1954 of Egypt's dictator, Gamal Abdel Nasser, in establishing a Middle East collective security alliance. Nasser, however, rejected all overtures. He called Turkey an "enemy of the Arabs" and accused it of territorial ambitions. Iraq, the only Arab country to cooperate, withdrew from the alliance on March 24, 1959, eight months after overthrow of its monarchy.

As road and rail communications between Turkey and Iran cross Iraq, the withdrawal of Iraq struck a blow at the military effectiveness of the alliance. Military headquarters of the organization were moved from Baghdad to Ankara, and the United States agreed to set up a telecommunications network linking Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. CENTO is believed to have been a factor in preventing Soviet infiltration of the Middle East, but in the event of armed attack apparently only the Turkish army would be able to offer substantial ground resistance.

However, the United States on March 5, 1959, signed identical bilateral defense agreements with Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. The agreements committed this country to take "appropriate action, including the use of armed forces," to help the respective countries resist aggression. The United States and Turkey are allied also through NATO and, as long as U.S. bases remain on Turkish soil, direct aggression against Turkey is almost certain to bring American forces instantly into action.



